

Report to Hon. Woodrow Wilson
President of the United States of America.

Hon. Crawford Vaughan

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R E P O R T

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to

HON. WOODROW WILSON

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

by

HON. CRAWFORD VAUGHAN

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On his Recent Speaking Tour Through

The West and South.

TO THE PRESIDENT:

Last September, the Hon. W. L. Holman, Premier of New South Wales, when visiting the United States, conferred with Mr. Justice Brandeis on the question of extending to public men in Australia an invitation to address American audiences on war issues, more particularly with a view of presenting the subject from a democratic viewpoint.

As a result of this conference I received from Mr. Holman an invitation to address a series of meetings on the Pacific Coast, which I readily accepted.

Having enjoyed the generous hospitality of your Government, and believing that the observations of an Australian might be of interest to you, Sir, I am, at the suggestion of Mr. Justice Brandeis taking this opportunity of presenting a brief summary of my tour.

My itinerary, which was arranged by Mr. Creel's Committee on Public Information, and was under the auspices of the United States, and British Governments, began in San Francisco on November 26, 1917, and has since extended to twenty States, in which I have addressed some sixty meetings.

Necessarily, the character of my audiences has embraced all sections of American citizenship, for, with the valued co-operation of Mr. Gompers, I have spoken in labor temples and shipyards, as well as before associations of business and university men, and at general public gatherings.

THE LOYALTY OF LABOR

The states in which I have already spoken are the following:-

California, Nevada, Utah, Wyoming, Colorado, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Tennessee, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, New York, Maryland, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Virginia, Michigan, South Dakota and the District of Columbia.

I have still to address meetings in the middle and far West before leaving for Australia, as I

contemplate doing early in March.

During the week ending Friday, February 15th, I conducted under the auspices of the United States Shipping Board a special drive of the Atlantic Shipyards and addressed some twenty-five thousand shipworkers in seven days.

Although a strike amongst the carpenters was in progress during the latter part of the drive, I found everywhere amongst shipyard employees a splendid spirit of loyalty.

Constant reiteration of the objects for which we are fighting and a clear presentation of the sacrifices that are being made by the soldiers of the United States of America and of other nations are to my mind essential to allay, or at least to direct, the social and industrial unrest that arises out of the titanic changes through which the whole world is passing.

Amongst all sections of workers I have found that there is every confidence that the Government of the United States will deal justly and wisely with the industrial problems that are constantly arising out of war conditions.

WHAT I TOLD THE SHIP-WORKERS

Realizing that the whole nation stands behind the President in his representation of war aims, I have

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WHAT I TOLD THE SHIP-WORKERS

Realizing that the whole nation stands behind the President in his representation of war aims, I have

endeavored ever since I came to this Country to stress the most pressing essential for the winning of the war, namely, the building of ships.

I have pointed out that, whilst America has imposed wheatless and meatless days on her people in order to send food to the Allies, Australia has awaiting transportation 250,000,000 bushels of wheat in storage and great packing houses filled to their full capacity with meat, all of which will be required for European consumption before the war ends, as soon as ships are built.

I have sought also to impress upon my audiences that every American shipyard is a fortress for Freedom; that every worker in a shipyard is virtually enrolled as a soldier in the United States Army, Industrial Division; and that the Presidential messages which have brought hope to the world can only be delivered by America's grand Army travelling to Europe over a bridge of ships.

My efforts have also been directed towards making the workers in shipyards appreciate the fact that the one Union to which above all others they must be loyal at this hour is the Union founded by Washington, maintained by Lincoln and supported by President Wilson, and that to strike against that Union is betrayal of the Stars and Stripes.

I am happy to be able to say that no call upon the patriotism of the workers in America has failed to evoke that loyal response that might be expected from the free citizens of a Great Democracy.

It is my desire, if I may so express myself, also to bear testimony to the unselfish devotion of business men in all parts of the United States to the Cause which this Country has espoused. It is inspiring to see men and women of all classes, without counting the cost to themselves, helping make the world safe for Democracy.

REASONS FOR LOW OUTPUT OF SHIPS.

General charges of slacking which have been made against the shipyard workers are, so far as my knowledge goes, based upon insufficient knowledge of the facts and repetition of such charges is likely to do mischief to the Cause for which we are all fighting.

If it be true that the number of rivets now being driven in the various shipyards has not been equal to the number driven prior to the entrance of your Country into the war, we may look for the cause elsewhere than in the suggestion that the ship-workers are not as responsive to the call of patriotism as any other class in the community. All classes have manifested an equal spirit of sacrifice which any nation in the world might well envy.

The causes for the output of the shipyards not being maintained at the previous level proportionately to the number of men employed are, in my judgment, many and complex.

In the first place, the actual number of experienced shipworkers in the United States is probably less now than before the war, owing, of course, to a certain proportion of enlisted and drafted men being shipyard employees.

The total strength of ship-workers has been built up from something like 70,000 to nearly 200,000 men in the yards by the addition of "green" men, who have had to be trained to a new calling and who cannot, therefore, be expected to drive rivets at the rate reached by experienced hands.

New yards have been established and the preparatory work, while accounting for a large addition to the number of employees, has not yet resulted in any great number of rivets being driven. In other words, the ground has had to be ploughed before the harvest could be gathered.

HOUSING AND TRANSPORTATION.

Where new yards have been laid down, or substantial additions have been made to existing yards, the necessary housing accommodations have not been provided, the result has been overcrowding in the homes,

high rents, and long distance transportation. It is difficult to see how additional men can be absorbed in the yards until further housing accommodations and better transportation are provided. The taking over of existing houses or the building of new ones should, therefore, precede any general drive for shipyard men.

In some centres, the transportation facilities are so inadequate and so tediously slow, as to tire the men before and after hours in such a way that it has been physically impossible for the men to do the work they otherwise could have done. Highways are sometimes crowded with motor lorries carrying men along bad roads and exposed to the elements. The consequences of such exposure must be a lessening of vitality, sickness and absence from work.

CONDITIONS AT NEWPORT NEWS

To give a concrete case of overcrowding, at Newport News, in addition to the large increase in the number of shipyard employees which has caused a great demand for existing housing accommodations and has inflated rents abnormally, a military camp of some twenty thousand men has -- no doubt for the best of reasons -- been pitched close to the town and has added seriously to the congestion. The Shipbuilding Company is now engaged in the highly commendable task of putting up homes, but necessarily the strain cannot be substantially relieved for

many months to come.

In Great Britain, I understand citizens are protected by legislation against rent inflations arising out of war conditions, but whether it is desirable or practicable to afford similar protection here is a matter upon which I do not feel competent to express an opinion.

The weather during the winter months has been of such a character that yards even so far South as Newport News have been seriously affected in respect to their output.

The provision of hot coffee to the workers on bitterly cold days would no doubt have helped things out, but so far as I could learn, except in rare instances, this was not done.

WELFARE WORK

Welfare work, which has proved so important a factor in speeding up industry in other countries during the war, is being inaugurated here. Where the population is of so cosmopolitan a character as it is in this Country, it is a little difficult perhaps to induce some of the workers to take advantage of the advantages offered.

INCREASING THE OUTPUT OF SHIPS

The proposal of the Shipping Board to guarantee that no reduction in the price paid for rivet driving will take place during the war no matter what the industrial output may be is, in my opinion, one which should go far to checking any tendency to limit the day's production.

There are no doubt cases where men earning high wages and not realizing the vital need of ships have worked only a few days per week when they could have worked full time, thereby impairing the efficiency of the ship-building plants. Such men cannot justly be classed as slackers. They could have earned more by working six days per week, but if they have never fully realized what their country needs of them, the fault is not wholly theirs.

There has also been an excessive labor turnover averaging, I am informed, some three hundred percent. at least, and in some cases running as high as twelve hundred percent.

This, I believe, is occasioned partly by full time not being worked by the individual employee, the men looking for new jobs in the slack days, and partly by the practice of allowing labor or employment agents, whose interest it is to have a big labor turnover, to outbid each other for the limited amount of skilled

mechanics in the market.

The lack of some uniform wage and employment scale in the shipyards and in kindred trades, private and public throughout the Country, is also, no doubt partly responsible for this evil. Men cannot be blamed for offering their labor to the highest bidder. A labor turnover not only seriously handicaps the industry, but is bad in its unsettling influence upon the men, producing, as it does, the inefficient itinerant worker as against the steady, reliable mechanic.

The establishment of Governmental labor exchanges properly correlated throughout the whole country, is I believe receiving consideration and this should materially assist the shipbuilding industry.

I am fully aware that many of these matters are being dealt with by the Shipping Board, and I merely offer these reflections in partial explanation of the output of the yards not being maintained at the expected level.

TRAINING UNSKILLED MEN

The work now being undertaken through the Shipping Board of training unskilled men and converting them into skilled mechanics reflects, in my opinion, the greatest credit upon those responsible for the conception and carrying out of this work. This offers the only

available supply of skilled labor needed to fulfill the shipping programme and affords a splendid chance to the casual worker to improve his position.

Employers have informed me that men used to structural building do not readily adapt themselves to ship work, and they do not look for a great deal of help in that quarter.

PRESENTING FACTS TO SHIP-WORKERS.

I would venture to suggest that the men upon whose patriotic devotion to duty so much now depends should be made fully acquainted with the facts of the situation, informed clearly of the relationship between their labor in the yards and the saving of the lives of their boys at the front, and of the acuteness of the shipping problem.

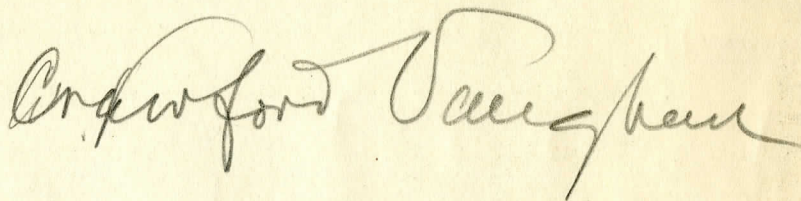
I have endeavored to set forth accurately in the form of a balance sheet the world's shipping position, so far as I have been able to obtain the necessary data, and hand you this balance sheet herewith.

My object in thus presenting it is my belief that if speakers were supplied with such figures as it is desirable to make public in some such form, it would perhaps be of material help to them in calling public attention to the imperative need of ships and in urging the shipbuilders of America to demonstrate by actual

launchings that America-at-home can do as splendidly
as America-in-France.

I feel a great deal of hesitancy, Mr. President,
in thus trespassing upon your valuable time, but my ex-
cuse lies in the grave peril that threatens our civiliza-
tion, and I know that with your wide knowledge of men
and affairs you will appreciate the sincerity of the
motives that have prompted me thus to address you.

Yours respectfully,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Andrew Ford Tamm". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the typed name.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

FEBRUARY 25, 1918.

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Yours respectfully,

Robert La Follette

WASHINGTON, D.C.

FEBRUARY 25, 1918.

THE SHIPPING SITUATION

(Figures are in thousands of tons)

WORLD'S SHIPPING - AUG. 1, 1914, AND SINCE:

World's Shipping August 1, 1914

(German and Austro-Hungarian excluded)

42,605,658 (a)

Additional Ships Built Since:

(German and Austro-Hungarian excluded)

1914 (August-December)

United Kingdom	454,575	(b)
Other Countries	130,400	(b)

1915

United States	215,000	(c)
British	600,000	(b)
Other Countries	351,245	(b)

1916

United States	559,000	(c)
British	619,336	(d) - 538,000 #
Other Countries	690,418	(d)

1917

United States	1,034,000	(c)	<i>? dead weight tonnage</i>
British	1,163,474	(c)	
Other Countries (estimated)	900,000	(c)	

6,805,448

German and Austro-Hungarian
interned vessels usable by Allies

In North America	660,000	(e)
In South America & China	300,000	
In the rest of the world	670,000	(f)

1,630,000

TOTAL ADDITIONAL TONNAGE AVAILABLE..... 8,435,448

TOTAL TONNAGE, August 1, 1914

together with additional tonnage to Dec. 31, 1917..... 51,041,106

- (a) Lloyd's Register, 1914-15 Appendix
(b) " " 1915-16 "
(c) Bureau of Navigation, Department of Commerce (U.S.)
(d) Ocean Shipping - House of Representatives

(Figures are in gross tons)

LOSSES SINCE AUGUST 1st. 1914:

Losses of Allies and Neutrals
From ordinary wear and tear
and shipwreck 2,000,000 (g)

Losses of Allies and United States
From raiders, mines and submarines 8,900,119 (h)

Losses of Norway
From mines and submarines 1,031,778 (i)

Losses of other Neutrals
From mines and submarines 500,000 (1.104.785 (app.)

Deduction of Russia's tonnage -
As of August 1st, 1914 851,949 (j)

TOTAL LOSSES AND DEDUCTIONS..... 13,283,846

TONNAGE NOW AVAILABLE 37,757,260

51,041,106

(g) Based on Lloyd's Registers

1914-15 1915-16 1916-17 Appendixes

(h) Based on Statement of British Comptroller of Shipping
and best estimates obtainable

(i) Statement of Norwegian Legation in Washington,
February 16, 1916.

(j) Ocean Shipping (as above)

THE DEFICIENCY NOW:

World's Shipping, August 1, 1914 42,605,658
(as above)

Less Tonnage now 37,757,260

DECREASE IN 3 YEARS 5 MONTHS 4,048,398

Add 2 tons constantly in commission
to supply each man in France -
the estimate of Secretary Baker -
1,500,000 men x 2 3,000,000

*England uses 3 gr. tons per
man for B.E.F. in France.*

PRESSENT DEFICIENCY 7,048,398

THE DEFICIENCY NOW:

World's Shipping, August 1, 1914 42,606,658
(as above)

Less Tonnage now 37,757,260

DECREASE IN 3 YEARS 5 MONTHS 4,848,398

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3,000,000

PRESENT DEFICIENCY 7,848,398

COMPARATIVE DIAGRAMS

LOSSES FOR 1917 6,175,732 gr. tons
6,000,000 tons

PRODUCTION FOR 1917
3,099,474 tons

TOTAL PRESENT DEFICIENCY
at least 7,848,398 tons

TONNAGE REQUIRED TO BE
BUILT FOR 1918
If sinkings of 1917
are reduced by 50%
10,848,398 tons

interned vessels usable by Allies

In North America	660,000 (a)
In South America & China	500,000
In the rest of the world	<u>670,000 (f)</u>

1,630,000

TOTAL ADDITIONAL TONNAGE AVAILABLE..... 8,435,440

TOTAL TONNAGE, August 1, 1914

together with additional tonnage to Dec.31,1917.....51,041,106

- (a) Lloyd's Register, 1914-15 Appendix
- (b) " " 1915-16 "
- (c) Bureau of Navigation, Department of Commerce (U.S.)
- (d) Ocean Shipping - House of Representatives
64th Congress 3rd Session
Document 2112

- Glasgow Herald, Annual Shipbuilding Number for 1916
- (e) Andrew Bonar-Law in House of Commons, Feb. 13, 1916
- (f) Ocean Shipping (as above)

London Daily Telegraph Jan 11. 18

From CRAWFORD VAUGHAN
Adelaide, Australia
February 25, 1918

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